

The University of Chicago

TEXT AND REFERENCE BOOKS IN
RHETORIC BEFORE 1750

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF
THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1936

By
PORTER GALE PERRIN

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PREFACE

"Text and reference books in rhetoric before 1750" is a chapter from a manuscript dissertation, "The teaching of rhetoric in the American colleges before 1750." In the complete dissertation the mode of rhetoric which these books suggest was taught at early Harvard and Yale is further described from contemporary references in diaries and records, and in particular from the theses which each graduating class presented to the audience on commencement morning. But the books known to have been used present perhaps the surest evidence of the actual content of instruction.

References in the text and in footnotes to other chapters and to appendixes refer to the complete manuscript dissertation on file in the University of Chicago Libraries.

The following abbreviations are used:

Am. Antiq. Soc. -- American Antiquarian Society.

Col. Soc. Mass. Pub. -- Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

HCR -- Harvard College Records (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vols. XV and XVI, paged consecutively).

M.H.S. Coll. -- Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

M.H.S. Proc. -- Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society.



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CHAPTER III

TEXT AND REFERENCE BOOKS IN RHETORIC BEFORE 1750

1. Neglect of Classical and Renaissance Rhetoricians

Works of rhetoric, primarily school books, and far from the most pleasing even of school books, are not likely to be preserved with great care, nor are the dicta of school rhetoric likely to be referred to in the writings of mature persons, much less the particular books from which they were gleaned. The books may be vaguely alluded to, or, in the period we are discussing, concealed in inventories under "a parcel of old books" or under indeterminate titles like "Rhetoricae libri duo" which might describe a dozen different books. But we have from this period, besides one or two official notes and a few reading lists, catalogs or inventories of several private libraries,¹ numerous copies of books in present libraries carrying the signatures, many of them dated, of Harvard and Yale students,² and five book lists from the libraries of Harvard and Yale:

The books given to the College by John Harvard.³

¹For bibliography of New England libraries see F. B. Dexter, "Early private libraries in New England," Proceedings, Am. Antiq. Soc., XVIII, 135-47. Most of the available material is used in T. G. Wright, Literary culture in early New England 1620-1730 (New Haven, 1920). The William and Mary quarterly has published many lists from Virginia.

²See Arthur O. Norton, "Harvard text-books and reference books of the seventeenth century," Col. Soc. Mass. Pub., XXVIII, 361-438.

³HCR, pp. 158 ff. The books are identified in "John Harvard's library," Col. Soc. Mass. Pub., XXI, 190-230.

Duplicates in the Harvard library in 1682.⁴

A catalog of the Harvard library made in 1723 at the request of Thomas Hollis to guide benefactors in England, with manuscript supplements made in 1725 and 1735.⁵

Jeremiah Dummer's list of books given Yale in 1714.⁶

President Clap's catalog of the Yale library in 1743.⁷

From these varied sources we can gain a significant if incomplete picture of the books in rhetoric available before 1750.

In spite of their continued authority, of their recent vogue in Renaissance Europe, and of their requirement as texts at the University of Cambridge,⁸ the classical rhetoricians and critics make the slightest showing in this evidence, though they seem to have been increasingly common late in the period. In 1723 the Harvard library had a 1588 edition of Riccoboni's Latin translation of Aristotle's rhetoric, besides a complete edition of the philosopher's works. Yale received in 1714, according to the Dummer list, a copy of Rapin's Reflections on Aristotle's treatise of poesie, translated.⁹ Other evidence of Aristotle's rhetoric

⁴C. S. Brigham, "Harvard College duplicates, 1682," Col. c. Mass. Pub., XVIII, 407 ff.

⁵Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini . . . (Boston, 1723). The MS supplements are in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The catalog and the supplements are discussed in Alfred C. Potter, "The Harvard College library 1723-1735," Col. Soc. Mass. Pub., XXV, 1-13.

⁶A list of the books given to the College of Connecticut in New England with the names of the donors. Photostat in Yale University library.

⁷Catalogue of the most valuable books in the library of Yale-College. Disposed under proper heads (New London, 1743).

⁸James Bass Mullinger, The University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1873-1911), II, 403.

⁹Rapin is referred to by Henry Caner, Yale 1724, in The true nature and method of Christian preaching (Newport, 1745), p. 35 n.

and criticism is lacking.

According to the college laws the students were reading Cicero's orations and letters and some of his treatises, but there is no official requirement of any of his rhetorical works in the colleges and they are not noted in many private libraries: Increase Mather had the only copy of De oratore found in making this study.¹⁰ Use of De oratore toward the end of the period is to be inferred from the fact that the Yale library in 1743 had "6 dupl." copies of it, starred as particularly useful to upper-classmen. Unfortunately we have no similar list from the Harvard library at the same time.

Cotton Mather alludes to Quintilian in Directions for a candidate of the ministry ("though I know what censure a Quintilian would pass upon me" for counting Calvin's Latin as good as Cicero's)¹¹ and to Longinus' comment upon the sublimity of the Hebrew scriptures,¹² but these references do not argue a first hand knowledge of the Institutio, since Quintilian's opinions were so disseminated in the writings of others and so common in phrase books, and certainly not of Longinus, since his remark was a commonplace among educated Christians. A 1726 edition of Quintilian was in the Harvard library by 1735. The Yale library had received a copy in 1714 and had two copies in 1743, and two copies of Longinus. James Otis' Rudiments of Latin prosody shows definite knowledge of De oratore and of Quintilian,¹³ but since it was not published till 1760, we cannot be sure whether it represents his college training or his own literary studies continued after his

¹⁰Proceedings, Am. Antiq. Soc., n.s. XX, 288.

¹¹(Boston, 1726), p. 29.

¹²P. 34.

¹³(Boston, 1760). De oratore, in part II, p. 45; Quintilian, in part I, pp. 24, 60, part II, pp. 25, 46.

graduation from Harvard in 1743. Quintilian is mentioned by William Livingstone in "Philosophic solitude," written at Yale in 1748, though casually among a catalog of "The laboured volumes of the learned dead."¹⁴

Samuel Johnson has left an unquestionable record of reading the major classical rhetoricians. In May 1722, eight years after he graduated from Yale, he read "M. T. Cicero De Rhetorica, Inventiones, Oratores, &c. Topica Partitiones Ora."; he read "Monsr. Boileau's Translation of Longinus" February 1736; and Quintilian's Institutes in 1739, without noting that any of them was being re-read.¹⁵ From his rhetorical notes to be discussed in chapter v it seems clear that he had not been brought in contact with any of these works in college and that he discovered them in the course of reading through which he overcame what he felt to be the limitations of his early education.

Although it has been said that "Until the middle of the Eighteenth Century . . . the study of Aristotle, Cicero, Longinus and Quintilian was required of every student" in the colonial colleges,¹⁶ from our data the outstanding fact would seem to be that these classical works were practically ignored until the eighteenth century and were only becoming current in the increasing interest in literature and oratory late in the second quarter of the century. Our evidence is perhaps slight, and so completely lacking from the College of William and Mary that this conclusion must be

¹⁴In Elihu Hubbard Smith, American poems (Litchfield, 1793), p. 171.

¹⁵Samuel Johnson, His career and writings (New York, 1929), I, 499, 515, 518.

¹⁶Charles A. Fritz, "The content of the teaching of speech in the American colleges before 1850" (Abstract of doctoral dissertation at New York University), Quarterly journal of speech, XV (1929), 135. The same statement is made categorically on p. 6 of the manuscript dissertation with no suggestion of evidence.

understood to apply only to the New England colleges. But none of the classical rhetorical works is given as a text in any of the official programs of study before 1750 and none is referred to by any student still in college in any diary or letter that has been found in making this study.¹⁷ It is of course not safe to conclude from this comparative silence that they were unknown in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. But in view of the facts that other works are mentioned as rhetorical texts in use, that other evidence, particularly the commencement theses, points to a tradition of rhetoric far removed from that of Cicero and Quintilian, and that later, in a quite different academic setting, we find these works definitely in use in the renewal of popular oratory, we may believe that the ancient rhetoricians were in general neglected.

There is little trace, too, of the later rhetoricians who followed in the ancient tradition. No trace at all is found of the late Greek and Roman works or of medieval compends, not even of the Hermogenes so recently used at Oxford and Cambridge, and they may not have crossed the Atlantic until demanded for research in a later day. Although no reference has been found to their reading or use, three purely rhetorical treatises from the high Renaissance were in the Harvard library in 1723, among a number of humanistic works in philology and criticism. Two were famous

¹⁷Copies of the classical rhetorics now in the leading Boston libraries and in the libraries of Yale and Harvard do not show signs of college ownership in this period. Wright's Literary culture in early New England, dedicated to demonstrating the literary attainments of the colonists, gives no references to Aristotle's or Cicero's rhetorical works and to Quintilian only Cotton Mather's allusion in the Directions. The entry "Arist. de arte dicendi" in the inventory of the books of George Alcock, Harvard 1673, who died in 1676 (Col. Soc. Mass. Pub., XXVIII, 355) is not necessarily evidence of Harvard use, since the library contained books inherited by Alcock from his grandfather. It might have belonged to his father (Harvard 1646).

works by scholars of Italy: Laurentius Valla, De Latinae elegantia (Basle, 1545; first published at Rome in 1471), and the Rhetoricum libri v (London, 1647; first published at Venice about 1470) of Giorgios Trapesuntius. There was also Rhetorica in 7 libros digesta (Cologne, 1534) of Johannes Caesarius (1468-1550), a German humanist whose texts were popular in his country until driven out by those of Ramus.¹⁸ Yale had a copy of Valla's Elegantia in 1743. Between 1725 and 1735 Harvard added J. C. Scaliger's "Poetices Libri septem" in a London, 1607 edition.

No works of the English humanists are listed in the college library catalogs that we have, nor is it likely that they or the sixteenth-century writers on poetic were current.¹⁹ The influence of the humanists would be naturally limited among the colonists, men of the later Reformation, which had become a reaction against the revival of pagan antiquity as well as against Catholicism; and even the doughty attempts at fusing Aristotle and Christianity, of which Alsted's was one of the last, were being abandoned. Furthermore, the settlers would not be interested or particularly helped by works intended for the nobility and upper classes of society or for the education of an ideal "governor."

11. Ramean Rhetorics at Harvard and Yale

In spite of the general tributes paid to Ramus and of his undoubted direct and indirect influence in logic, there is no mention of his own rhetorical writings in actual use in the colleges.

¹⁸"Caesarius," Allgemeine deutsche Biographie.

¹⁹The schoolmaster and Thomas Wilson's Logyke were in the books being carried to Virginia in 1635 by the Rev. John Goodborne, who died at sea ("A Virginia minister's library," Am. hist. rev., XI [1905-06], 332).

The Harvard library had in 1723 "Scholia in 3 primas artes" (1595). This abridgment of his Scholae in liberales artes would contain his defense of the abbreviated rhetoric, of which he is the most distinguished advocate in the history of higher education.²⁰ He says explicitly that of the arts of the trivium, logic is the most general and most important, grammar next, and rhetoric least, since it is concerned only with ornamenting the ideas given by logic and already correctly expressed by dint of grammar.²¹ He continues the medieval habit of discussing subject matter, the parts of inventio, dispositio, and memoria, under logic, because they pertain to mental processes; rhetoric has the parts concerned specifically with speech, style and delivery.²² In his detailed notes on rhetoric, he gives a fuller discussion of style than do most of his followers, not only defining the tropes and figures, but

²⁰Ramus' rhetorical doctrine is implicit in several of his works and explicit in Dialecticae partitiones (1543), Rhetoricae distinctiones (1549), "Scholae rhetoricae" in Scholae in liberales artes (1569). They probably gained widest currency through the Rhetorica of Audomarus Talaeus, the editions following 1567 having an introduction by Ramus.

²¹"Scholae rhetoricae" in Scholae in liberales artes (Basle, 1569), col. 282 (abbreviations expanded): "Et sane de tribus artibus communibus Grammatica, Rhetorica, Dialectica, angustissima est rhetorica: sermo enim purus esse potest facilius sine ornatu, quam sine puritate ornatus, & utroque carere potest disputatio, quia mente fieri & exerceri sine ullo sermonis vel orationis commercio potest, ut Dialectica latissime omnium pateat, tum Grammatica, proxime sequatur, postrema sit Rhetorica"; and col. 238: "Haec Rhetoricae virtus & propria & sola est, ut possit troporum luminibus variare, insignibus figurarum exornare, modulatione vocis permulcere, dignitate gestus excitare: quae quidem maxima virtus & amplissima est."

²²Ibid., col. 339: "Dialectica mentis & rationis tota est, rhetorica & grammatica sermonis & orationis: Dialectica igitur inventionis, dispositionis, memoriae (quia mentis omnino sunt, & in tres sine ullo linguae aut orationes commercio exerceri possunt, ut in plerisque mutis, ut in multis populis, qui sine sermone ullo vivunt) artes proprias habebit. Grammaticae tribuetur ad bene loquendum atque scribendum, in interpretatione etymologia, in conjunctione syntaxis. Rhetoricae igitur ex sermonis & orationis cultu partes duae solae propriae relinquentur, elocutio & actio: proprium praeterea ac suum rhetorica nihil habebit."

treating fully sentence movement; but he gives only half a folio column (col. 392) to delivery. His adverse criticism of the rhetoric of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian would tend to set his followers at a further remove from the full classical program and to reinforce the limitation of the art of rhetoric that his own Scholae followed. A more positive effect of Ramus' rhetorical teaching might have been in his emphasis upon reason and individual thinking rather than upon authority, in his own forceful and nimbly controversial style, and in his stout defense of composition in the vernacular;²³ but these are not characteristic of colonial rhetoric.

The abbreviated rhetoric of Ramus was most commonly represented in schools and universities by the text of his friend and colleague, Omer Talon (1510-1562), usually known by the Latin form of his name, Audomarus Talaëus.²⁴ Talaëus' Rhetorica was certainly current in the colonies and there is reason to believe that it was a text at Harvard in the seventeenth century. John Harvard's bequest contained a copy,²⁵ and Increase Mather had one.²⁶ The closest evidence of use is a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society having the signature of Dudley Bradstreet, Harvard 1698, and the date 1694.²⁷ In a collection of Ramean texts bound to-

²³Cf. Foster Watson, The English grammar schools to 1660 (Cambridge, 1908), p. 449: "The essential merit of Ramus, however, from the modern point of view, is that he forms the transitional stage from the restriction of composition to mainly classical subjects, to the widening of Rhetoric to include composition on all kinds of subjects, a movement which led to the inclusion of illustrations from the vernacular and even modern languages."

²⁴For Ramus and Talaëus, see Charles Waddington, Ramus (Paris, 1855), pp. 33, 35, 464.

²⁵HCR, p. 159.

²⁶Proceedings, Am. Antiq. Soc., n.s. XX, 288.

²⁷The Yale University library has a copy of Talaëus with the name of Daniel Weld, Harvard 1661, but undated.

gether, in the Boston Public Library, carrying the names of many seventeenth-century Harvard students, a 1614 edition of Talaeus is the only one underlined and showing considerable signs of use, though it is the only one of the group not bearing owners' names, very likely because the use to which it had been subjected had carried away the fly leaves. These clues are slight, but together with the presumption that the work would be used in an institution of definitely Ramean cast, they warrant a belief that Talaeus' Rhetorica was used at early Harvard.²⁸

In spite of Ramus' statement in the preface that the work contains all of importance that Aristotle, Isocrates, Cicero, and Quintilian have written on composition,²⁹ Talaeus' rhetoric offers a very abbreviated form of the classical doctrine, following Ramus' definition, "Rhetorica est ars bene dicendi" and the division into two parts.³⁰ He treats elocutio, with a brief definition and illustration of the principal tropes and figures and a brief discussion of prose and verse rhythm, in sixty pages, and pronuntiatio, with simple pronouncements upon gesture and voice, in about eighteen pages. The discussions are fuller than in most of the compends,

²⁸Alexander Richardson's Logicians school-master (London, 1657) would be a further channel for Talaeus, since the title page indicates that the section on rhetoric comprises his "prelections on . . . Talaeus his Rhetorick." The notes are commonplaces, though occasionally enlivened by Richardson's style, as on p. 29: "The name is of $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ flus, as a stream doth, but tropically it signifieth to speak fluently: the reason of this Art is, that Speech being the Carrier from man to man, which is but a testimony, therefore not easily received, God hath therefore provided a kind of sugar, that thereby it might be the more easily received: and Rhetorick is as honey to a bitter Potion, or lace to a garment." He gives the twofold division of rhetoric, but does not treat delivery. He says (p. 50) that tropes and figures have come to be abused, "with sophistry to the understanding" and "for tickling the Will."

²⁹Audomari Talsei, Rhetorica, e P. Rami regii professoris praelectionibus observata (Antwerp, 1582), p. 3.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 5, 6.

however, with direct references to the classical authors, and with some note of varying theories that had been current, and there are occasional elementary critical remarks.³¹ This sets the book slightly above the ordinary grammar school text and makes it possible to regard it as a text of university grade, though it was in England in the seventeenth century quite generally regarded as a grammar school text: John Brinsley recommended it in 1612 as "most used in the best Schooles."³²

There are two references to the most popular of the grammar school abridgments of Talaeus, Charles Butler's Rhetoricae libri duo (1600 ff.): in some manuscript theses drawn up by Jonathan Mitchell, a senior at Harvard, in 1647, one, "Optimum condimentum orationis est varietas," is credited to "Butl. p. 102";³³ and there was a 1635 copy of Butler in the Harvard library in 1723. No further references to the book have been found, though it may have been used. Brinsley recommended Butler as in some ways better than Talaeus for grammar schools,³⁴ perhaps because it contained the definitions of the figures without critical remarks and a larger array of illustrations for each figure.³⁵

Another reduction of Talaeus, William Dugard's Rhetorices elementa (1650 ff.), is more referred to than any other rhetoric

³¹As (p. 7): "Sed cum troporum singulorum ornatus magnus est, tum continuatorum & conjunctorum multo maximus"; (p. 16): "Tropus autem nullus est florentior quam metaphora, nec qui plus luminis afferat orationi; praesertim si ratione sumpta est, & ad sensus ipsos admovetur, maxime oculorum, qui est sensus acerrimus." Some of Talaeus' ideas will be mentioned in chapter iv.

³²Ludus literarius, ed. E. T. Campagnac (Liverpool, 1917), p. 204. Hoole mentions it (p. 174) but apparently does not recommend it.

³³Massachusetts Archives, ccxl, 140.

³⁴Ludus literarius, p. 204.

³⁵A quotation from Spenser to illustrate rhythm is an early excursion of academic rhetoric into vernacular literature.

in this period and is one of the two texts certainly used at Harvard and Yale. The only official reference to specific text books is in the summary of the Harvard course of study included in President Wadsworth's "Book concerning College affairs" under date of 1726. President Wadsworth copied it with the notation "'Twas given in some few years before to y^e overseers," and Professor Morison says that it probably represents the Harvard course since the ascendancy of William Brattle and John Leverett in the late 1680's.³⁶ According to the course of study it outlines, the freshmen used "on Friday morning Dugard's or Farnaby's Rhetoric."³⁷ The book must have had considerable currency in the colonies, for fifteen copies were imported in 1682, and ten each in 1683-84 and 1685.³⁸ The dates on most of the copies surviving with signatures of owners show that they were used in grammar school.³⁹ But besides the undoubted evidence of the Wadsworth entry there are other signs of college use. Samuel Johnson's copy is in the Columbia University library, inscribed "Hic liber in cura Samuelis Johnsoni inest Anno 1710," that is, when he was a freshman at Yale.⁴⁰ In 1727 a copy of Dugard was taken back to Yale by William Adams, returning as a sophomore.⁴¹ And 3 September 1743 Edward Holyoke,

³⁶Early draft of Harvard College in the seventeenth century.

³⁷MS Harvard University library, Book relating to College affairs, p. 27; printed Josiah Quincy, The history of Harvard University (Cambridge, 1840), I, 441.

³⁸W. C. Ford, The Boston book-market (Boston, 1917), pp. 90, 126, 150.

³⁹Professor Morison's manuscript.

⁴⁰Between the two rhetorics (Dugard's and Horne's) bound together in this volume is the inscription "Daniel Chapman his Book Given him by Mr Shoue Jan y^e 6 - 1709." Chapman graduated from Yale in 1707.

⁴¹4 M.H.S. Coll., I, 44.

beginning his second year at Harvard, notes "Our class began Dugan's Rhetorick,"⁴² undoubtedly an error for "Dugard's." In spite of its prevalence as a grammar school text,⁴³ the book seems to have had a very real currency at Harvard and Yale.

Rhetorices elementa by William Dugard (1606-1662) was first issued in 1650, when its author was headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School.⁴⁴ It treats of the figures of speech for thirty-one pages and then devotes four pages to delivery.⁴⁵ Dugard follows, he explains in the preface, Charles Butler's Rhetoricae libri duo ("quae vulgo in Scholis teritur"), which, he says, was a great improvement over Talaeus. His text is in catechetical form, so arranged, as the title page advertises, that if the questions are omitted, the answers read consecutively will give a complete foundation in rhetoric for beginners ("integram Rhetorices Institutionem tironibus"). The opening shows the method, style, and scope of the book:

Quaest. 1. Quid est Rhetorica?
Rhetorica est ars ornatè dicendi.
Quaest. 2. Quot sunt partes Rhetorices?
Partes Rhetorices Elocutio, &
duae sunt: Pronunciatio.
 Vid. cap. 20.

⁴²The Holyoke diaries, ed. by George F. Dare (Salem, 1911), p. 35.

⁴³Grammar school use is further suggested by Cotton Mather's reference (Directions, p. 34): "Instead of Squandering away your Time, on the RHETORICK, whereof no doubt, you tho't your Dugard gave you enough at School"

⁴⁴Dugard was Cambridge B.A. 1626, M.A. 1630 (?); was for a time master of Colchester Grammar School, and in 1644-48 and 1650-61 headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School. His texts are not highly thought of today; in fact his dramatic experiences as printer quite overshadow his work as schoolmaster. See Foster Watson, "A printer schoolmaster. William Dugard 1606-1662," Educational times, XLVII (1894), 429-31, 467-68.

⁴⁵This description is based on the 2d ed.; London, 1651 (Samuel Johnson's copy).

Quesest. 3. Quid est Elocutio?
Elocutio est interna exornatio orationis.
Quae dicitur interna?
Dicitur interna ad differentiam pronuntiationis,
quae est externa exornatio orationis.

Then it goes one by one through a list of figures of speech, with divisions and subdivisions, each figure illustrated from Latin literature. This attention to elocutio is thrown into even higher relief by the brief and perfunctory treatment of delivery that follows. There are the bare compend dicta concerning the proper "voice" for the different parts of an oration and "De Gestu Regulae," in which there are prescriptions for movement of the whole body and of its various members. There follows an appendix of "secondary figures."⁴⁶

The chief usefulness of the book obviously was as a repository of concise definitions of one of the stock arrangements of tropes and figures, with a minimum of illustration. It was suggested by Charles Hoole for introducing boys of the fourth form, about ten years of age, to the art of rhetoric:

Thus they may have liberty to learn Rhetorick on Mondayes, Tuesdayes, and Wednesdayes, for morning Parts, and to enter them in that art of fine speaking, they may make use of *Elementa Rhetorices*, lately printed by Mr. Dugard, and out of it learn the Tropes and Figures, according to the definitions given by Talaesus, and afterwards more illustrated by Butler.⁴⁷

The book was to be memorized for repetition to the teacher.⁴⁸ Although the book was slight, and contributed nothing to the tradition of rhetoric, it was compact and as useful a reference book

⁴⁶The groupings of the figures is discussed below in chap. iv.

⁴⁷A new discovery of the old art of teaching school (Syracuse, 1912), p. 174.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 175. Hoole allowed "a quarter of a year's time" for memorizing a small rhetoric and recommended reviewing the tropes and figures once a quarter.

for college as for grammar school. The colleges may even have shown excellent pedagogy in continuing to use a book which many of their students would already have known in grammar school.

iii. Other Rhetorical Works

Rhetorical works by Reformation scholars outside the Ramean tradition are sparsely represented. Erasmus' Colloquies was apparently indispensable for acquiring Latin, but no reference has been found to De copia or his other rhetorical works. Of a later generation of Protestant scholars, we should expect the learned (and eventually Calvinist) Vossius to have been in use. His works were among the first texts of the time to return directly to classical sources and discuss the full ancient program for students. Thomas Prince endorsed his copy of Vossius' Rhetorices contractae, now in the Boston Public Library, 12 March 1712, five years after he graduated from Harvard. The Harvard library added Vossius' works between 1723 and 1725. "Vossii Rhetoric" is an indefinite entry in the Yale 1743 catalog, the book starred as recommended for upperclassmen. Though other evidence to encourage a belief that Vossius' works were used in the colleges is lacking, his teaching is represented, much constricted and with significant omissions, in the grammar school text of Thomas Farnaby that was bracketed with Dugard for the Harvard freshmen in 1726.

Besides this mention of Farnaby in President Wadsworth's Book, the other most sure coupling of the book with Harvard is the copy in the Boston Public Library endorsed "Joseph Sewall His Book, 1705," undoubtedly by Joseph Sewall of the class of 1707. It was listed for sale by R. Chiswell in Boston in 1680;⁴⁹ Increase

⁴⁹ Ford, The Boston book-market, p. 85.

Mather had a copy;⁵⁰ it was starred in the Yale catalog of 1743; and the present Yale library has a copy endorsed in 1755 by Jeremiah Day, who graduated in 1756.⁵¹

Thomas Farnaby (1575?-1647) was educated at Oxford and by Jesuits. After voyaging with Drake and Hawkins and fighting in the Low Countries, he became "the chief classical scholar as well as the chief schoolmaster of his time," teaching in Somersetshire. He was ruined by the Civil War and narrowly escaped deportation to America, but his scholarly reputation spread throughout Europe and his text books were popular.⁵²

Farnaby's rhetorical works reflect his association with Vossius, who perhaps increased his knowledge of the classical tradition to which Oxford and the Jesuits no doubt had introduced him. The chief is the Index rhetoricus scholis et institutioni tenerioris aetatis accommodatus, first published London, 1625, usually found as it was revised and enlarged by combination with two other small works in Index rhetoricus et oratorius cum formulis oratoriis et indice poetico.⁵³ The book throughout is more advanced, or at least more complete than Dugard's. Farnaby defines rhetoric not as "ars ornate dicendi" but as "facultas de unaquaque

⁵⁰Proceedings, Am. Antiq. Soc., n.s. XX, 288.

⁵¹Early evidence of probable use of Farnaby at Harvard is suggested by its inclusion in the books of George Alcock of the class of 1673 (Col. Soc. Mass. Pub., XXVIII, 357). The copy might have belonged to his father (Harvard 1646), but it is more probable that it came in in a later generation. The latest references to Dugard and Farnaby found to date are in the list of students' books burned in the fire of 1764 (ibid., p. 454).

⁵²"Farnaby," DNB.

⁵³This description is based on a London edition of 1654. In the Index rhetoricus Farnaby treats elocutio and pronuntiatio, in the Index oratorius the complete classical teaching on the composition of speeches. This division of the book into separate indexes follows the seventeenth-century arrangement of the language arts that we have noted.

re dicendi bene, & ad persuadendum accommodate,"⁵⁴ seeming to combine the Ramean and the classical traditions. In a schematic form, relying much on bracketed tables, he condenses the orthodox points of classical rhetoric, of the offices, the parts of the oration, the styles, and treats of all the parts of rhetoric except memoria. Under elocutio Farnaby discusses three general qualities, "elegantia," arising from pure and clear language, "compositio," sentence movement, period, rhythm, and "dignitas," chiefly ornament from trope and scheme. The second part of the work is a skeleton handbook of composition, with brief advice and specimen phrases and forms to use in the various parts of a speech ("petendi attentionem formulae," "narrandi formulae") and for the different exercises likely to be followed in grammar school. He includes also heads for a commonplace book in which quotations and references may be accumulated for use in writing, running four solid pages of topics from "Abstinencia, Abusus, Academia, Actio, Accusatio, Adolescentia, Adversae res, Adulatio," to "Vulgus, Vultus, Uxor." The third part, Index poeticus, is made up of brief quotations and references arranged under heads in the manner suggested for the commonplace book.

The book is bare but amazingly complete: "a small but exceedingly well-constructed book," says G. H. Mair.⁵⁵ It devotes relatively little space to the figures and outlines practically the complete classical program with the addition of pedagogical aids for grammar school teaching. Compared with the other grammar school rhetorics, it does not seem planned for pupils of "tender years." Hoole recommends it for reference material in the form

⁵⁴P. 2.

⁵⁵Introd. to Thomas Wilson, Arte of Rhetorique (Oxford, 1909), p. xix.

which was to use Dugard as a text and as a text for the fifth form.⁵⁶ In the hands of a capable tutor, especially one conversant with the classical sources from which Farnaby ultimately draws, the book might be convenient and practical. But under immature tutors and those out of touch with the ancient teaching, as we may surmise most of the Harvard and Yale tutors were, the book would not be very stimulating. It might, however, help to keep alive the full tradition of rhetoric in an academic regime more given to following the sophistical Ramean tradition.

Another book of formulas, John Clarke, Formulae oratoriae (London, 1659; dedication dated 1627) was used in the colleges. It was probably continued from the grammar schools, for twelve copies were imported in 1682,⁵⁷ and a copy was indorsed by John Higginson, Harvard 1717, the year before he entered college. Of the three copies owned by Harvard men which Mr Morton has found, one bears two names dated while the students were in college (of Paul Dudley, Harvard 1690, in his junior year, and a bookplate of Nicholas Lynde of the same class, dated 1690).⁵⁸ William Adams took Clarke to Yale for his second year.⁵⁹ It is a more limited book than the Farnaby, without the full rhetorical matter of the Index rhetoricus, but with more detailed helps for composing grammar school exercises, letters, themes, etc., with specimens of the various exercises and heads for a commonplace book.

Two ponderous reference books in rhetoric were at early

⁵⁶A new discovery, pp. 174, 208, 210.

⁵⁷Ford, Boston book-market, p. 98.

⁵⁸Col. Soc. Mass. Pub., XXVIII, 400. The other two are the Higginson copy mentioned in the text and one owned by five members of the Mather family.

⁵⁹4 M.H.S. Coll., I, 44.

Harvard. The 1723 catalog lists Joannes Tesmarus, Exercitationum rhetoricorum libri vii, Amsterdam, 1657. This was a vast reservoir (1165 large octavo pages) of directions for composing themes, orations, and verse, with a generous amount of material and numerous references to appropriate classical and biblical sources arranged under commonplace heads. It was intended as a reference book for grammar school composition.⁶⁰ The second was Nicolaus Caussin, De eloquentia sacra & humana libri xvi, published at least as early as 1634, which in a London, 1651, edition runs to 1006 double column folio pages. Five of Jonathan Mitchell's 1647 theses are attributed to "Causs." Caussin was a Jesuit. His work comprises the full classical program of rhetoric with critical discussions of eloquence. It was recommended by Hoole as supplementary for the sixth form work in rhetoric.⁶¹

Rhetorics of the scriptures, a particular form of the rhetoric of trope and figure, were so common in the colonies that they should be mentioned here, though so far as we know, the books were not used as texts.⁶² This rhetorical study of the Bible was a genuine phase of the Puritan's literary experience. After his proscription of ordinary school rhetoric in Directions for a candidate of the ministry, Cotton Mather recommends this rhetoric with enthusiasm:

But I will take this Opportunity to tell you, That there is no where to be found any such Rhetoric, as there is in our Sacred Scriptures. Even a pagan Longinus himself, will con-

⁶⁰Described by Watson, The English grammar schools, pp. 445-46.

⁶¹A new discovery, p. 25. Mitchell's theses are in Appendix B.

⁶²At both Harvard and Yale students were required by statute to analyze the scriptures rhetorically in the Hall (see chap. vii).

fess, The Sublime, shining in them. There can be nothing so Beautiful, or so Affectuous, as the Figures every where used in them. They are Life. All meer Humane Flourishes are but Chaff to the Wheat that is there. Yea, they are an Hammer that breaks the Rocks to Pieces. In them the GOD of glory thunders, yea, does it very marvelously! There is in them that Voice of the Lord which is full of Majesty.⁶³

In method these little rhetorics all agree: the elaborated list of the figures of academic rhetoric was illustrated by quotations from the Bible.

Record of several of these works is found. The oldest in point of composition is Bartholemew Westhemer's Troporum, schematorum, &c sacrorum liber (Basle, 1561), which is in the Harvard 1723 catalog. One of the earliest of the English rhetorics to be largely illustrated from the scriptures, Henry Peacham's Garden of eloquence (first printed 1577), was among the books from John Harvard's estate.⁶⁴ This was perhaps the copy, dated 1609, in the Harvard library in 1723. Robert Cawdry's A treasure, or storehouse of similes (first edition London, 1600), selected from the Bible, was in Elder Brewster's library;⁶⁵ the Boston Athenaeum has a copy endorsed by John Cotton and by Seaborne Cotton; and there was a copy at Harvard in 1723. One of the most popular of the group, perhaps from its title, was John Smith's Mysterie of rhetorique unvail'd (first published London, 1657; "tenth edition" London, 1721), ten copies of which were imported to Boston in 1683-84.⁶⁶ Cotton Mather preceded his eulogy of this sort of rhetoric by "Yet I am willing that you should attentively read over Smith, his Mystery of Rhetoric Unveiled."⁶⁷ One of the later books of this type, whose author was known to the colonists from

⁶³P. 34.

⁶⁴HCR, p. 159.

⁶⁵M.H.S. Proc., V, 52.

⁶⁶Ford, The Boston book-market, p. 126.

⁶⁷Directions, p. 34.

his philanthropic support of religion in their country, if not for his scientific works, Robert Boyle's Considerations upon the style of the Holy Scriptures (London, 1661 ff.) was in the Harvard library in 1723 in a 1668 edition; and it was probably in Edmund Berkeley's library in 1719.⁶⁸

Though these books are not themselves academically significant,⁶⁹ they are early signs of what would later be important moves in academic rhetoric: first, in that examples of style were taken not from classical literature but from the familiar scriptures, seeming to be quotations from a native vernacular literature; second, in that these works were already in this period written in English while the rhetoric for the schools was still in Latin texts. In these popular schematic volumes a significant part of the tradition of rhetoric was carried over into the vernacular.

Late in the period there are several signs of interest in a quite different book, the Port Royal Art of speaking⁷⁰ a work pious but persuasive and singularly complete in suggesting the actual process of composition and of delivery, against a background of history, philosophy, and Cartesian psychology. This book was in the New England courier library in 1722;⁷¹ Cotton Mather recommended it in 1726;⁷² Samuel Johnson read it in 1722 and wished for

⁶⁸William and Mary quarterly, II, 250.

⁶⁹That the Harvard library in 1723 had four works of this sort (one-third of its titles in rhetoric) is probably explained by bequests of ministers' libraries rather than by intent of the faculty.

⁷⁰By Bernard Lamy, in French 1675 ff.; translated into English 1676 and later. It followed the widely circulated Art of thinking.

⁷¹Elizabeth C. Cook, Literary influences in colonial newspapers 1704-50 (New York, 1912), p. 21.

⁷²Directions, p. 35: "I will add, I know not but a Lamy, in his L'Art de Parler, may give you some hints that may not be unuseful to you."

a better edition in 1742⁷³ and three years later recommended it to Benjamin Franklin for use in the "English School" in Philadelphia;⁷⁴ James Otis refers to it in the Rudiments of Latin prosody.⁷⁵ The art of speaking played a part in the transition from the abbreviated rhetoric of the early years of the colleges to the rhetoric of oratory of the middle of the eighteenth century; it is more fully discussed in chapter v.⁷⁶

It is possible that a tracing of the sources of the theses rhetoricae of Harvard and Yale by some omniscient historian of the discipline would reveal further texts and reference books drawn upon. Jonathan Mitchell's conscientious noting of sources in a brief list of eleven theses brought to light one author, Caussin, who would not otherwise have been suspected of being known at Harvard and the theses show fluctuations of emphasis not entirely explained by the works we have definitely found. But the possible sources are many, and exact results are all but impossible because so many rhetorics contain the same ideas with slight variations of phrasing--and most of the theses, as we shall see, are common-places of the art so that exact source is doubly difficult to find; and slight rephrasings by students and tutors would prevent recognition often of an actual source. In chapters iv and v the probable source of some theses will be traced to Alsted, Talaueus,

⁷³Career and writings, I, 111, 499.

⁷⁴Benjamin Franklin, Writings, ed. by A. H. Smyth (New York, 1905), III, 29 n.

⁷⁵p. 16.

⁷⁶Two books whose titles suggest reference to our subject may be dismissed. The Helpe to discourse, which Increase Mather read in 1675 (Extracts from diary, p. 35) and of which four copies were shipped to New England in 1682 (Boston book-market, p. 10), was a book of jests and miscellaneous information, intended to bolster up conversation. "Bennet's Christian Oratory London 1725" added to the Harvard library before 1735 is sufficiently characterized by its subtitle, the dissenter's whole duty of man.

Vossius, The art of speaking, and in the latter part of the period to classical writers; but such study of the theses as has been possible has not suggested the currency of works beyond those mentioned in this chapter.

iv. Book Lists from the End of the Period

The difference of horizon between the first generation of native-born scholars and a later one that came to maturity after intellectual relations with England had been increased and a current of books had set toward the colonies is suggested by the difference between the books in rhetoric approved by Cotton Mather in 1726 and those recommended by President Clap in 1743 and by Samuel Johnson about 1744.

Mather, as we have seen, obviously thought little of rhetoric, except the rhetoric of the Scriptures: he makes light of Dugard and recommends only Smith's Mystery of rhetorick unveiled and the Port Royal Art of speaking. The latter book shows an advance over the Ramean tradition, but except for that Mather seems not interested either in the traditional classical works or in the more important recent scholarship.

Samuel Johnson's college training was probably even narrower than Cotton Mather's, but by study after he graduated he went far toward remedying his deficiency. "A catalogue of some of the most valuable authors on each part of philosophy, proper to be read by the students," dated by his editors about 1744, contains still the grammar school compends of trope and figure but adds the classical works, which by this time Johnson had read, and many of the better eighteenth-century works in criticism. Here side by side are the limited Puritan rhetoric (Smith), one of the better compends (Farnaby), The art of speaking, but none of the Ramean texts; Cicero and Quintilian; and Fénelon On eloquence and

Rollin's Belles lettres.⁷⁷ The two latter groups of works, supported by later eighteenth-century writers, were to bring about a wholly different sort of rhetoric.

The works of rhetoric and criticism in President Clap's catalog form also a transition list. Its most significant entry is the "6 Dupli" copies of De oratore, which, with two copies of Quintilian and two of Longinus show that the classical rhetoricians were in demand at Yale.⁷⁸ This is presumptive evidence that the tradition of rhetoric brought to the colonies was changing and that one of the principal means of the change was a renewed acquaintance with the works of antiquity on the one hand and with recent French and British criticism on the other.

⁷⁷Career and writings, II, 317. The titles under the various heads of "Rational Philosophy" will be found in Appendix C.

⁷⁸In Appendix C will be found the titles bearing on rhetoric and related fields.

